

INTERVILLAGE GAMES

117

or three times. After the men's race there might be a woman's game 526 of double ball and a woman's race.

The parties to the meet were not single villages, but village units 526 consisting of a parent village with all its daughters and its "wells." 621 Two such units might have a standing contest which carried on for years, each challenging alternately. But occasionally several units joined together to challenge another group: two whole dialect divisions might find themselves arrayed on opposite sides, or one division against the Pima.

Plans were made at the beginning of the summer, when the peo- 526 ple assembled at the "field" village before they separated. Then, if 623 there were no regular contest in progress, the runners or their families suggested to the game leader that they felt ready for a meet. The game leader presented the matter to the village council, who, perhaps, tested the runners to make up their minds and then decided whom they would challenge and what the race should be. Then the game leader paid a formal call on the game leader of the opposite side to convey the challenge and settle details.

The runners practiced all summer under the supervision of the 526 game leader or some trainer chosen by him. There was no pay for such work, since the trainer was helping to win for his village and would share in its betting gains. The village elders, all of whom were vitally interested in the outcome, frequently advised and encouraged the runners.

THE SKIPPING DANCE

Beside training its athletes, the village prepared a musical per- 535 formance to be presented to its opponents. Of these performances, 727 the most elaborate was the skipping dance (*tcirkona*). The word means a motion exactly like that of children skipping along a sidewalk. But the performance was not merely a dance; it was a rudimentary form of opera. Some singer dreamed a series of songs, referring to a visionary experience of his own. Then he trained a number of girls and boys to perform dance evolutions, carrying effigies which referred to his dream. Records tell of singers who were famous for wind songs, ocean songs, cloud songs, crane songs.

VILLAGE GOVERNMENT

THE ANCIENT FORM

631 The Papago had no central government. Each village unit was
 623 autonomous and when two units occasionally joined, for war or
 games, the union was temporary. There are traditions of meetings,
 held in time of crisis by the leaders of several different units,
 generally involving the divisions of Archie and Kuhatk. At such
 times, the Archie leader was deferred to, since the Archie people
 were "the oldest settlers" and the "first up from underground".
 The deference seems to have been a matter of courtesy, not organi-
 zation and did not apply to Tecalote which had its affiliations in
 Mexico. We may conjecture from this that there were perhaps loose
 federations of village units but such formal organization as there
 was, concerned the village only. The main outlines of this organ-
 ization follow roughly those of the Pueblos and may be found, in
 simpler form, among the Shoshoneans, both of California and the
 Basin.¹

CEREMONIAL HOUSE

621 Every main village, as a mark of its official status, had a cere-
 344 monial house, both at the Fields and at the Wells. The one at the
 Fields was the largest, since it was in summer or just after harvest
 that most important ceremonies took place. This house was known
 as the Big House, or the Rain House, since it was here that the rain-
 making liquor was brewed. At present it is called the Round House,
 because it is built on the old round plan, while dwelling houses are
 square.

[773] The house was large enough to accomodate all the men in the
 537 village: perhaps twenty-five feet in diameter. At the building of a
 new one, a speech was made by a hereditary orator, telling of the
 magic building of the first house, with the help of earthworms to
 furnish the timbers; the gopher to heap earth on the roof; the birds
 to throw down feathers for a floor covering. Then songs calling for
 rain were sung.

New villages, leaving the parent village, erected a house in this
 way, bringing the orator from home for the occasion. In the winter
 camps, the meeting place was often a brush enclosure, since no

¹ Strong, 1927.

793 I am inclined to consider the governor an innovation, gradually
622 usurping the functions of the ancient informal leader and adding to
624 them.

Legends represent the people as applying in all crises to "him who goes before us" and taking his advice as to what to do. At present this ancient leader may still be the chief power in a village, sometimes using the secular governor as a "front" but in one case boldly issuing orders in his own name. However, his power is rapidly declining. The White officials take no cognizance of him and, unless he is a man of powerful personality, he is reduced to a routine ceremonialist who appears only once or twice a year. The list of villages shows an X against those which have a fetish and a Keeper of the Meeting. All the northern villages have both while in some of the southern ones, which have come under intensive Christianizing influence, both have entirely disappeared.

793 The Keeper generally chose his own successor in office from among the male members of his family best suited to the duties. Accounts of the exact arrangements for succession varied in different localities, some informants stating:

"The Keeper chose his own successor. Nobody could criticise," and also, "When a Keeper died, the Elders would go to his brother or someone and say: 'You knew his ways best. You had better lead us'." The latter would seem to be an occurrence of recent times, when anyone with ceremonial knowledge is hard to find.

I am inclined to give most weight to those accounts which state that the successor, having been chosen by the Keeper, must be approved by the council of elders since this is in accord with general practice in the area. If, according to these accounts, the elders disapproved, they would make their own selection and the Keeper would be obliged to instruct the new candidate.

Since the learning of the rituals was a very long task, the successor was chosen long before the Keeper was ready to quit his office and acted for years as a ceremonial assistant. Such a deputy was never a very young man since the young were not considered competent for ceremonial functions. He might be the Keeper's brother or a classificatory sibling somewhat younger than himself. At Santa Rosa the Keeper, who is somewhere near ninety, has an assistant of seventy who stands with him during rituals and sometimes makes the speech himself; this man is a very distant relative.

But the Keeper had also a young man as messenger, known as his Leg. This man often made the fire for him, called out the [202] announcements if there was no crier and took messages to people at a distance. He was in line for the office and was expected to

- 624 Like the war leader, this ceremonial official might have a younger
526 assistant to lead the cheering and argue the possible fouls. The
women contestants had a woman for this function "since it would
not be right for a woman to argue with a man."

SONG LEADER

- 624 A man with a loud voice and a memory for songs was chosen to
533 lead the communal singing, particularly at the liquor fermentation.
He usually asked certain good singers to stand next to him and
head the line.

THE COUNCIL

- 623 In every village, or even where two or three families were camping
together, a nightly men's meeting was held. This was the real
governing power of the community. It decided on communal
activities: agricultural work, hunts, war, the dates of ceremonies,
games with other villages. It approved the installation of a chief or
of new residents in the village. "And if there was nothing to
discuss, they would come together and talk." (21). Men reported
whether they had seen tracks of enemies or of deer. Visitors from
other villages were welcomed and questioned.

- [68] Attendance was a duty for every man and in the myths a man
who absented himself was dealt with by a deputation. There was no
point at which a boy became officially eligible but when he seemed
old enough to understand and wanted to go, some older relative
[562] would take him. Women were not admitted but when something
interesting was discussed, they would stand outside and listen. "But
we didn't do it much, because our husbands came home and told
[756] us." According to two informants, the shaman was excluded as
a possible sorcerer (1).

- There was a distinction between the men who formed the actual
deliberative body and the listeners. The word s'tcu-amitcu't means
wise, or able. It was not an official title but was applied to men who
had shown themselves fit to take part in the council. In some
villages these were selected by the Keeper of the Meeting (15, 11),
who would test a promising mature man by having him make ex
tempore, one of the usual speeches of admonition and seeing if he
remembered all the points (21). "He must have good judgment and
a quick understanding of what is said. The old men were always
[554] looking out for people like that." In some villages no man was
expected to speak unless he were a "ripe man", that is, had been
through the purification incident on salt gathering or enemy
killing (9). In others enemy killing was the qualification (25). Or

Village Government

79

the wise man might simply attain his position by the exhibition of good judgment. "If he showed sense, they would listen to him" (8). This is the standard exploit in tales of the orphan boy, who makes a good suggestion in meeting before he is considered old enough to speak. The important factors would seem to have been a man's practical sense and knowledge of traditions. 623

In the summer village the meeting was held in the Big House: in camp it was in a brush enclosure, or even a cleared space on the ground. The Keeper of the Meeting or the man who was acting as such built a fire in the center of the place to be used, called the people or had them called and sat down facing the east. (In a house or enclosure this would mean opposite the door.)

The wise men, as they arrived, took their places around the fire and the listeners behind them. The crier sat at the right of the Keeper. In villages where there was a speaker to put the leader's proposals the speaker sat at the right and the crier at the left. Some informants thought that each wise man had his allotted place which he occupied during life and which was assigned to a new wise man on his death (14). The same informant thought that the shamans, far from being excluded, had special places, at the north, south, east, and west of the circle, as they do at the drinking ceremony. At present certain prominent men are allowed by custom always to have seats near the Keeper, but there is no other formality. 756

Some informants thought that the Leg always sat behind the Keeper ready to be sent on errands. Another said that when the meeting was held in a roofless enclosure, the fire was put outside it so as to deceive the Apache. One man then had the duty of running to the fire to bring an ember for lighting the cigarettes. He sat behind the Keeper and was called the peg, that is, the peg with which a hide is fastened down for drying (25). 202

The proper demeanor in this and all other assemblies was to sit on the heels with arms folded and head bent. The hair should be tied with a thong, so that there would be no disturbing motion of raising the hand to keep it from blowing. It was highly blameworthy to show signs of drowsiness and the offender would have a lighted cigarette thrust between his toes. 516
302
689

The men arrived in silence and when all were seated, the ceremonial cigarette was passed. This was a six inch tube of cane or cornhusk filled, in the earliest days, with wild tobacco. The Keeper lit this or had it lit by an assistant and puffed ceremonially with an invocation, "Now do I breathe out. It will reach you. You will send a benefit" (14). Or, "May he bless me, give me life and lead me along a good road." The power originally referred to was thought 623
788
276

623 to be the sun, although the word *teioc*, God, is sometimes used. An
788 upward breathing without words had the same meaning (1). If there was enough tobacco, three puffs might follow the invocation, making up the ceremonial four. The Keeper then passed the cigarette to the man at his right, calling him by the actual kinship term. The man gave the reciprocal term and puffed in the same ceremonial fashion. This passing of the cigarette with the kinship term is a preliminary to all important procedure.

The cigarette passed all the way around the circle, only one man smoking at a time. It was not passed to the young men. When it reached the Keeper again, he put it out by thrusting it, lighted end downward, into the ground beside him, to be lit again at the next interval between speeches. Usually one six-inch tube lasted the whole evening. In later days, when tobacco was more plentiful, any man who could brought his own. They lit cigarettes at a signal from the Keeper, "Now light the jointed reed!" puffed with invocation and passed to a neighbor with the kinship term just as had been done when there was one cigarette for all. Thus several men might be smoking at one time, but they all stopped at the word from the Keeper, "Place the jointed reed in the ground."

183 After the smoking the Keeper or sometimes a delegated speaker,
623 addressed the assemblage: "Hail, my relatives!" and made the regular opening speech. Though this was in the speaker's own words, its content was standardized. It was, in fact, the Papago moral code with whose points each wise man was supposed to be familiar. These points were: Be industrious. Be hunger enduring, cold enduring, thirst enduring. Practise running that your young men be swift in time of war and that your women be able to escape. Let every man keep his weapons ready. Have an extra bowstring. Have plenty of arrows. See that your women grind plenty of cornmeal so that you will be strong for fighting. See that your women segregate themselves at the proper time so that you will not lose your strength.

537 There was a definite technique for the admonition speech which
623 was different from that for the ritual orations. These latter were delivered in a sonorous voice with the accent on the last word of the sentence. The admonition speech had the normal accent but the voice was expressionless and exceedingly low. The same effect was used in admonitions to young people given at home. The monotonous murmur with its constant repetitions was, to the writer, almost hypnotic.

Fragmentary versions of such speeches follow:

"Well then! Will you not be ready? Will you not take care!
Already I have said thus to you: that you shall make arrows,

Village Government

81

that you shall make bows, that you shall be watchful. When the enemy will arrive, you do not know. It may be at night that he will come—at night, or in the morning, or when the sun stands almost anywhere. Beside you do you place your bow that you may snatch it up and fight. Early in the morning do you eat, that you may be able to fight. Always I say this. Every evening I say it to you at the meeting, that you shall keep near you your bow, your hunting arrows, your war arrows, your quiver." "Your women, very early let them cook. Let them feed the youths that they may fight the enemy, wherever the sun stands. Let them fetch water, let them search for firewood, that they may cook something. Early in the morning let them practise running, that when the enemy arrives they may run far down yonder and save themselves."

"This I recite and this I say to you. Do you listen and let it enter your ears and enter your head. (26)

Hunting

"Early in the morning you will rise, you will run far yonder to the foot of the mountain range. You will chase something, you will kill it, you will bring it home and therewith feed yourself. White-tailed deer you will follow, black-tailed deer you will follow and therewith feed yourself and live. This is our food, thus said he, whoever he is, who made us. The deer did he make that you should kill it and eat. Look! thus they shall live, our young men. The deer shall they follow, they shall hunt and shall kill. Thus they will be great runners. Thus they shall do, the people. From long ago has this been done and therewith it has been well. (21)

Planting

"Something again I say to all you villagers, that therewith you may be alert. You will cause the rain to fall and you will plant something." (21)

At the close of the speech, each man in turn, beginning at the right of the speaker, called him loudly by the kinship term, while the speaker responded with the reciprocal. This was the ritual performance of *imik iim'k himatcu't*, passing the kinship term, which constituted applause on any occasion. One village was said to have had an official, the passer-of-kinship-terms, who always started this applause and saw that it was properly carried around the circle (9). An unrelated man would say "friend", but such a person was rare unless he was a visitor from another village. [623] [588] [627]

If there was tobacco enough, there might be another ritual smoking and perhaps a period of silent thought. Then any proposal

623 which was to come before the meeting would be brought up. This might be a suggestion for communal ditch digging, a request by a deer hunter for volunteers for a deer hunt, etc. The man who wished this proposal made might speak of it himself, or he might communicate it to the Keeper who would either make a speech or have it made by his speaker.

Such a speech was followed by the ritual applause and, if there was tobacco enough, by ritual smoking. Generally each man in the circle of wise men commented upon it, taking turns from right to left. A man who agreed completely made another speech in the same vein so that before the process was complete, a project had been many times confirmed and re-stated. One who disagreed took time for thought and then made his strictures, after which the others commented in regular turn, always beginning at the right of the speaker. If sentiment was divided, the procedure was to discuss until opinion was unanimous. The myths often contain the statement, "They held a meeting but nothing was decided. So they agreed to meet again the next night," and so on for four nights.

According to two informants, there were specially selected wise men who were asked for their opinion after each speech had been made (15, 25). According to another, after every speech the men expressed themselves all around the circle: "It pleases me." "It does not please me." This vote was taken four times in case someone might reconsider (25).

The young men did not vote or smoke. Those who were fast runners might be called on to inform neighbor villages when there was a decision about war or ceremony. If volunteers were wanted for a war party or for communal labor, they might step forward. Otherwise they merely listened.

When the meeting was over, the Keeper directed: "We will smoke once more and then go to sleep." If it were early in the night, the men went home. If it were late, they slept in the Big House. No informants had heard of this being a nightly procedure.

[513] Lengthy and repetitive speeches were an essential part of Papago procedure. The first Spaniards noted the trait when they heard Papago converts preaching to their countrymen:

... "it seems the Lord must have given him words to enable h m to speak so long, for he harangued them for a space of two hours, a thing difficult even for a great preacher. Afterward another took up the thread.... In this manner day dawned upon them and the following night it was the same."¹

¹ Bolton, 1919, 2, 211.

Village Government

83

Fray Manuel was seeing the usual nightly gathering turned to the purposes of Christianity. 623 ●

The repetition which causes the length of these speeches is not for the mere purpose of explanation. The writer once questioned a wise man as to the proceedings of a meeting which had lasted past midnight. He was able to state them very succinctly. "We said that at the festival a horse had disappeared, but it had been found at the house of a man in the next village who didn't know the owner. Then someone said that some spurs had been found, too, but they had been claimed." 623 537 181

"And was that all?"

"Yes. But everyone said what he thought about it."

The purpose of such repetition would seem to be an emotional one: the attaining of complete unity in the group. After an idea has been re-stated so many times and each man has had his share in sponsoring it, every man's conviction has been solidified and there is little danger of an unsympathetic minority. The long sessions before an agreement is reached have the same purpose. There must be no dissenting minority. Action will be ineffective unless the whole group acts with complete conviction. 181 623

This is the ideal of every village group and its method of attaining a strong government without any individual authority. Each man has been conditioned to agreement by the nightly recitations of the moral code which he hears from the age of puberty until death. The result is a "grounding in the faith" which few systems of education could better.

The likeness of the Papago plan of organization to that of the Western Pueblos, is very obvious, though these latter have elaborated a ceremonial organization impossible for the scattered Desert People. We may be seeing here a relic of the Puebloan occupation though we have still no means of telling how far its governmental pattern differed from that of the Papagos' linguistic relatives to the south. Certainly, the title of Bitter or Fierce Man for the war leader has an echo in Mexico.¹ The institution of the secular governor, who supplements the semi-priestly leaders, gives the Papago system an even further resemblance to the present outline of Pueblo organization. 171

POST-SPANISH GOVERNMENT

The Governor

The picture of council and ritualistic leaders without executive power, does not represent modern Papago government. That 622

¹ Cf. Nahuatl "Our wrathful chieftain" Bandelier, AA October, 1892, p. 319.

622 small federations existing and indicating, perhaps, that the leading
 175 village had been the parent of the others. But the whole of Papa-
 613 gueria was never federated except in theory. The American idea
 of government demanded that there should be one head chief for all
 the Papago and Archie claimed the position. "But Gold Ears of
 Tecalote never had anything to do with the Archie chief. His
 village was not related and so he ruled by himself" (40). This
 indicates how little weight the head chieftainship had with the
 Papago. After the death of Many Skirts, Con Quien of Mesquite
 Root wished to be considered the head chief and was so spoken of
 by some of the White settlers but "the people did not follow him."

622 With the recent forming of daughter villages, several new
 governorships have arisen, each subsidiary to the rule of its mother
 village. Standing Rock was colonized from Mesquite Root and
 regarded that town as its superior until it was abandoned; the
 colonists turned to Archie, related to Mesquite Root. Tobacco
 Mountain in the Archie valley had no chief until one of its leading
 residents was constituted chief, out of hand, by the representative
 of the United States government (2), but he also is considered
 subordinate to Archie. Finally he took two or three other settle-
 ments under his wing. One of them, San Isidro, now feels itself
 large enough to have a chief of its own and has picked a man who
 will be submitted to Archie for approval. When Imikah, near
 Hikiwany, was settled, the Indian agent again asked one of the
 residents to act as chief but the chief of Hikiwany considers him a
 subordinate and countermands his orders when he disagrees. The
 system by which the governor of the main village is the superior of
 those in the daughter villages must be a firmly entrenched one since
 it holds good, even against the prestige of American appointments.

The governor can be deposed if he is "not good for the people."
 According to the governor of San Pedro, the elders meet in his ab-
 sence and make the decision, then one of them calls on him privately
 and invites him to "take a rest. Some one else will do the work."

622 The governor, in spite of a growing importance, is supposedly
 623 subject to the will of the council. This fact was used when the
 famous Hunter claim came before the supreme court in 1910. The
 governor of Santa Rosa had signed a deed giving half the land of
 the village to a certain Hunter in payment for legal services. The
 court ruled on the evidence that no one man was entitled to sign
 for the whole village and the governor had no such power.

622 The office of governor, starting perhaps from the informal leader-
 ship of "him who talked the most" has come to be the pivot of
 present day Papago organization. The White authorities who are

VILLAGES AND DIALECT GROUPS

LEADERSHIP AND AUTHORITY IN THE VILLAGE

622 Authority in the village is vested in the chief or *kobunal* (from the Spanish *gobernador*) and his two assistants. According to custom—since there is no written law for village affairs—these offices are elective. In some villages the chief always comes from a certain family, but this is by no means universal. (In Topawa the man who was chief at the time of the field work for this study was not closely related to any of his three most recent predecessors.) The chief holds office until he wishes to retire or until the people become dissatisfied with him.

The chief seems to function as judge, mayor, and sheriff combined. He is called on to settle personal disputes over family problems, division of lands, disagreements over water, damages done by straying cattle, and all the miscellaneous problems that arise wherever people live together.

623 In his nonjudicial capacity, the chief is the head of the village council, composed of all the men of the village. In the old days they met every evening in the village "round house," but nowadays meetings are less frequent and regular. Here all the village problems are discussed: lands are assigned for farm use; stock-owners air their problems, and the doings of the Agency are talked over. Everyone has his say if it takes all night. In the old days unanimity of opinion had to precede a decision, for the concept of majority rule was not known to the Papago. Nowadays, there is not always unanimity for the simple reason that there is not time. A government proposal may have to be accepted or rejected, and white men call for prompt action.

623 The analogy to the patterns of authority in the household is striking. The principle of seniority prevails, and men under twenty-five ordinarily do not say much in council meeting. Some young men nowadays attempt to speak out before they have had enough experience to know much (according to Papago standards); but, even if their ideas are good ones, they gain scant consideration. It is the elders who do most of the talking. The chief is in some way the same position as the family head; his decisions are final, but he is obliged to consult all the others, to find out "what people think about it."

184
622 The situation described in the foregoing paragraphs prevails in most parts of the Reservation. The people of the western villages, however, say that their chiefs exist only in the imaginations of white people, and it is true that they have no elected officials or formal council meetings. Yet in every western village except Hickiwan, there is an old man who by the force of his personality has attained the leadership of his community. (In Hickiwan a relatively

[344] 2. An old-style round building sheathed with grass. In some villages the house is now a rectangular adobe building.

344 huario ribs, surmounted with greasewood twigs and some large coarse grass called *sacáte colorado*. The grass is kept in place by hoops of *ocotillo* inside and outside, placed at intervals of eight or ten inches. The top of the house is covered with earth.

344 The entrance is small, usually only two and one-half
354 feet high and two feet wide, and is provided with a grass door which, when not in active use, leans up against the wall outside. To get in or out one is obliged to crawl on hands and knees. The fire is made in the centre, and there is no other escape for the smoke than the door, there being no window; as the people inside generally sit on the ground, the smoke does not trouble them; besides, as the house is warm, a large fire is not needed. In the summer these dwellings are delightfully cool, affording also excellent protection against the violent, though short-lasting, rain-storms of the desert.

344 Usually a light stockade of *ocotillo* and other kinds
[351] of poles runs around the lodge to prevent the cattle from eating the grass of which it is made. In this house the youth are instructed in the traditions and beliefs of the
● [623] tribe, and here is discussed everything of more or less importance, meetings being held every evening of the year. The man who is in charge of the lodge and its sacred objects is elected for life. He lives near by and is
[793] called Keeper of the Smoke, which means tobacco smoke.
276 The name for tobacco is *viv*; when used for certain sacred purposes it is called coyote tobacco (*pan vívuka*). The young plants are covered with greasewood branches, but the Papagoes nowadays rarely grow the weed and